

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----106979 121408Z /43
P 121301Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8382
INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MANILA 11763

EXDIS
MILITARY ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, MARR, RP
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH ENRILE ON MILITARY BASES AND HUMAN
- RIGHTS ISSUES

REF: MANILA 11762

1. HAD WHAT I CONSIDER A VERY USEFUL PRIVATE MEETING WITH ENRILE JULY 11 WHICH RAN FOR ABOUT TWO AND ONE HALF HOURS AT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY. HE SPOKE WITH APPARENT SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS (MANILA 11762), THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND HIS DESIRE TO HAVE A CLOSE AND OPEN RELATIONSHIP WITH US. RECALLED HE HAD DISAGREED LAST MAY WITH THE INITIAL WORDING OF THE MONDALE/MARCOS COMMUNIQUE THAT THE BASES SERVE THE "MUTUAL SECURITY" OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE U.S. HE HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE FORMULA FINALLY AGREED ON WHICH SPOKE OF "MUTUAL BENEFIT." LATTER PHRASE WAS PREFERABLE BECAUSE IT SUBJECT TO VARIED INTERPRETATION AND THEREFORE UNPROVOCATIVE TO BOTH PHILIPPINE MILITARY AND AREA CRITICS OF OUR MILITARY PRESENCE HERE.

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2. ENRILE DESCRIBED HIMSELF SATISFIED WITH THE WAY MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS SEEM TO BE MOVING AHEAD. IN HIS VIEW THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE IS THE ALL IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE PHILIPPINE SIDE AND EQUATES IN PROMINENCE FOR THE AMERICAN SIDE TO THAT OF FREEDOM OF OPERATION. HE FULLY ACCEPTS WE MUST HAVE COMMAND AND CONTROL OF OUR FACILITIES AND FORCES. OTHERWISE, AS HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, "WHY WOULD YOU BE

INTERESTED IN ANY NEW ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE PHILIPPINES.
THERE'S NO POINT IN YOUR HAVING FACILITIES IF YOU CANNOT
USE THEM AS FULLY AS YOUR OPERATIONAL NEEDS REQUIRE."

3. I OBSERVED THAT GENERAL POSTON IS OPTIMISTIC THAT
AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON CROW VALLEY FORMULA. ENRILE
SAID THIS WOULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MORE
COMPLEX ISSUES OF SUBIC WATERS AND WATERSHED. SAID HE
COULD ENVISAGE ARRANGEMENT OVER SUBIC WATERS INVOLVING
ALLOCATION OF PART OF THE WATERS TO FULL AMERICAN CONTROL,
INCLUDING U.S. SECURITY PATROLS.

4. JOHN HAY. ACCORDING TO ENRILE, PRESIDENT MARCOS' IDEA
IS FOR THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE OVER JOHN HAY IN
ITS ENTIRETY AND THEN LEASE IT BACK TO THE USG. THIS
FORMULA WOULD CONTRAST WITH ARRANGEMENTS ON OTHER FACILITIES
WHICH INVOLVE ONLY PARTIAL RELINQUISHMENT TO THE GOP OF
AREAS PRESENTLY UNDER USG CONTROL.

5. HE ALSO REVIEWED WHY HE HAD AS LONG AGO AS 1974 AD-
VOCATED THE CONCEPT OF OUR PAYING RENT FOR OUR MILITARY
FACILITIES. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS DOES
NOT UNDERSTAND THE IMPLICIT QUID PRO QUO BETWEEN OUR
MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AND OUR USE OF THE BASES.
THIS HAS LED TO AWKWARDNESS AND A CONGRESSIONAL ASSUMPTION
THAT IT IS BEING ASKED EACH YEAR TO MAKE AN UNWARRANTED
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PAYMENT. HE APPEARED TO HAVE NO PROBLEM ACCEPTING THAT A
USG MULTIYEAR FINANCIAL COMMITMENT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION
AND THAT OUR FORMULATION OF "BEST EFFORT" WAS THE BEST
THAT COULD BE ACHIEVED. IN ANY EVENT, HE CLAIMS TO HAVE
FATHERED IDEA TO LAUNCH THE CURRENT MILITARY-TO-MILITARY
TALKS AND TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THE MORE DIFFICULT
ISSUES SUCH AS COMPENSATION AND CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS. ENRILE SAID HE IS READY TO HAVE A FULL
EXCHANGE WITH US ON ANY AND ALL DETAILS AFFECTING HUMAN
RIGHTS. (THIS SUBJECT COVERED IN MORE DETAIL IN REFTEL.)
HE HAS BEEN, AS YOU KNOW, CHARGED BY MARCOS TO BE MY
CONTACT ON THESE QUESTIONS. WHEN I SUGGESTED THAT THIS
MIGHT DEVELOP INTO A TASK TOO DEMANDING FOR HIS TIME, HE
DEMURRED AND SAID HE FELT IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT HE
AND I DEVELOP A BROAD PERSONAL EXCHANGE ON THIS ISSUE. HE
FELT THE GOP HAD DONE ITSELF A DISSERVICE EVER SINCE THE
INCEPTION OF MARTIAL LAW BY INADEQUATE PUBLICITY ABOUT ITS
ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS.

7. ENRILE REFERRED TO HIS REPUTATION AS ANTI-AMERICAN
AND ASSERTED THIS WAS UNTRUE EVEN THOUGH HE HAD NOT AL-

WAYS AGREED WITH U.S. POSITIONS IN THE COURSE OF BASE
NEGOTIATIONS. QUOTED COMMENT RELAYED TO HIM BY FONMIN
ROMULO THAT VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S GROUP HAD RATED
HIM A "BAD ACTOR." I SAID THIS WAS NOT MY UNDERSTANDING
OF THE MONDALE TEAM'S VIEW. I SAID AS FAR AS I WAS
AWARE HIS REPUTATION WAS THAT OF AN ABLE CABINET
MINISTER AND A PHILIPPINE NATIONALIST.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MANILA 11763

EXDIS
MILITARY ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

8. COMMENT: REMEMBERING YOUR ENCOURAGEMENT THAT I TRY
TO ESTABLISH A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH ENRILE, I JUST
WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT I AM ENCOURAGED BY HIS RESPON-
SIVENESS. MURPHY

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